

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 OMB-01 /058 W
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R 260720Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5293
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BEIRUT 4732

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT PDEV PGOV LE SAY
SUBJ: NEW BROAD NATIONAL FRONT SIGNALS SYRIAN-WALID JUMBLATT
ALLIANCE

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. ON SEPTEMBER 12 PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP) LEADER WALID JUMBLATT AND PRO-SYRIAN BAATH PARTY LEADER ASSEM KANSO SIGNED AGREEMENT IN DAMASCUS LAYING OUT TERMS FOR NEW BROAD NATIONAL FRONT (BNF). AGREEMENT ALLOWS ALL ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT, INCLUDING COMMUNIST PARTY AND COMMUNIST ACTION ORGANIZATION, TO JOIN BNF. NATIONAL MOVEMENT MEMBERS BELIEVE THAT WALID JUMBLATT WILL DOMINATE BNF, BUT ACKNOWLEDGE THAT FORMER PRIME MINISTER RACHID KARAME IS FRONT RUNNER FOR BNF PRESIDENT. SYRIAN ENDORSEMENT OF NEW BNF ADDS UP TO TACTICAL SHIFT TO LEFT BY DAMASCUS AND SEEMS TO REPRESENT SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENT FOR JUMBLATT. NEW BNF COULD ALSO LEAD TO SPLIT OF ISLAMIC GROUP. END SUMMARY.

2. ON SEPTEMBER 12 WALID JUMBLATT, LEADER OF PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP), AND ASSEM KANSO, SECRETARY GENERAL OF LEBANESE BRANCH OF BAATH PARTY, SIGNED AGREEMENT IN
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DAMASCUS PROVIDING FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THEIR TWO PARTIES. PUBLICLY ENDORSED BY SYRIAN PRESIDENT HAFEZ ASSAD, AGREEMENT INTER ALIA PROVIDES FOR "(BROAD) NATIONAL FRONT OPEN TO ALL PARTIES, ORGANIZATIONS AND POLITICAL FORCES THAT ARE COMMITTED TO FOLLOWING GOALS AND PRINCIPLES:"

-- LOYALTY TO "FREE, INDEPENDENT, ARAB, LEBANON;"

- SUPPORT FOR LEBANON'S CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY AND ITS EFFORTS TO "REBUILD STATE AND ITS INSTITUTIONS;"
- ABOLITION OF SECTARIANISM IN ALL STATE INSTITUTIONS;
- AMENDMENT OF ELECTORAL LAW TO "ENSURE WIDER REPRESENTATION FOR MASSES" AND TO ELIMINATE SECTARIANISM FROM NATIONAL ELECTIONS;
- ESTABLISHMENT OF "HIGHEST DEGREE OF POLITICAL, SECURITY AND ECONOMIC COORDINATION BETWEEN LEBANON AND SYRIA;"
- AFFIRMATION OF "LEBANESE-PALESTINIAN BROTHERHOOD" AND COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENTATION OF EXISTING AGREEMENTS BETWEEN LEBANESE AUTHORITIES AND PALESTINIAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATION;
- COMMITMENT TO "ARAB SOLIDARITY" AND COORDINATION OF FOREIGN POLICY WITH ARAB CONFRONTATION FORCES;
- ADOPTION OF NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN POLICY.

3. AGREEMENT PUTS NO RESTRICTIONS ON ADMISSION OF ANY ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND WILL PERMIT LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND COMMUNIST ACTION ORGANIZATION TO JOIN BNF. JUMBLATT AFTER DEATH OF HIS FATHER INITIALLY APPEARED UNDECIDED ABOUT WHETHER TO SUPPORT CONTINUED

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COMMUNIST MEMBERSHIP IN NATIONAL MOVEMENT. WHEN KAMAL SHATILA PROCLAIMED HIMSELF LEADER OF ORIGINAL BNF, HOWEVER, AND ENUNCIATED ITS PRINCIPLES LAST JUNE, PSP REFUSED TO JOIN UNLESS ALL MEMBERS OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT WERE ALSO PERMITTED TO DO SO. SYRIA AT FIRST OPPOSED ADMISSION OF AL MURABITOUN AND COMMUNISTS, BUT CAME TO REALIZE BNF COULD NOT FUNCTION WITHOUT PSP PARTICIPATION. SYRIA THEN ACCEPTED AL MURABITOUN BUT NOT COMMUNISTS. NOW SYRIA HAS ACCEPTED COMMUNISTS AS WELL, THUS AGREEING TO POSITION OF WALID JUMBLATT AS WELL AS OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER RACHID KARAME.

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4. IN RETURN, BY ENDORSING CLOSE COOPERATION WITH DAMASCUS, AGREEMENT INDICATES WALID JUMBLATT HAS ACCEPTED SYRIAN INFLUENCE IN LEBANON. (WALID'S FATHER KAMAL HAD BEEN AT SERIOUS ODDS WITH DAMASCUS). IN OTHER RESPECTS, HOWEVER, AGREEMENT IS REITERATION OF STANDARD PSP POSITIONS.

5. NATIONAL MOVEMENT MEMBERS HERE BELIEVE THAT WALID JUMBLATT WILL DOMINATE NEW BNF BECAUSE NEITHER SHATILA NOR KANSO HAVE SUFFICIENT POPULAR BASE TO ASSERT LEADERSHIP WITHIN IT. RACHID KARAME IS LIKELY TO BE ELECTED FRONT'S PRESIDENT BECAUSE OF HIS PRESTIGE AND AGE, THESE MEMBERS SAY, BUT JUMBLATT ENJOYS EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH KARAME AND IS LIKELY TO ACQUIESCE TACITLY IN LATTER'S FORMAL LEADERSHIP.

6. CHRISTIAN LEADERS ARE NEGATIVE. PHALANGE LEADER PIERRE GEMAYEL, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS PUBLICLY REJECTED FRONT ON GROUNDS THAT ITS MEMBERS WOULD INCLUDE "COMMUNISTS AND INTERNATIONAL LEFTISTS WHO TRIED TO DESTROY LEBANON."

7. ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW FRONT HAS ALREADY INTENSIFIED
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DISPUTES AMONG MODERATE SUNNIS. SAEB SALAM AND HIS FOLLOWERS IN ISLAMIC GROUP HAVE REJECTED BNF AND FAVOR CONTINUED CONTACTS WITH RIGHT WING LEADERS SUCH AS CAMILLE CHAMOUN AND PIERRE GEMAYEL INSTEAD, WHILE RACHID KARAME AND HIS FOLLOWERS FAVOR COOPERATION WITH BNF. OTHER SUNNIS SUCH AS GRAND MUFTI AND MUKASSID GRADUATES SOCIETY ALSO FAVOR COOPERATION WITH BNF.

8. COMMENT: SYRIAN ENDORSEMENT OF NEW BNF ADDS UP TO TACTICAL SHIFT TO LEFT WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF SYRIA'S

INVOLVEMENT IN LEBANESE MOSLEM AND LEFTIST POLITICS.
CHRISTIANS ARE DISPLEASED AND REGARD SYRIAN MOVE AS
DIMINISHING SUPPORT OF THEIR OWN POSITION. SYRIA HAD
SOUGHT ALLIANCE WITH WALID JUMBLATT SINCE FIRST PROPOSING
FORMER BROAD NATIONAL FRONT IN MAY. SYRIAN WILLINGNESS
NOW TO PAY JUMBLATT'S PRICE - ADMISSION OF ALL ELEMENTS
OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT - APPEARS TO BE A SIGNIFICANT
ACHIEVEMENT FOR JUMBLATT AND, IF IT DOESN'T BACKFIRE,
MAY ENHANCE HIS POLITICAL ROLE IN LEBANON. ISLAMIC
GROUP CONSERVATIVES ARE LIKELY TO BE MAIN LOSERS, AND
ISLAMIC GROUP ITSELF TO BE SERIOUSLY SPLIT.
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